

In writing this paper the personal pronoun I shall be used instead of the editorial "we," and the signature of the writer will be appended.

Remained in Washington after March 4th, at the request of a number of sincere Republicans till about the first of June, to assist in bringing about an adjustment of factional differences in the party in Virginia.

With this object in view I stood aloof from all complications, and counselled honorable compromise. At the request of Chairman Groner, I opened his meeting at the Ribbert, with as concise and fair statement as I could make after the most careful watching of events, and this was generally well received.

Col. Brady followed, violently denouncing, and laying down his ultimatum—no compromise except with the retirement of General Mahone. Discussion followed and the meeting adjourned next day, after visiting the President in a body, who suggested the selection of a committee of their number to lay the Virginia situation before him.

This was done, and I was one of the number—some 10 or 12—who subsequently went to the President's office on the day fixed by him, with Gov. Cameron as spokesman. I did not go either time, resolved to remain on such terms with all parties as to enable me possibly to do what I undoubtedly did at Chicago, and for which I had letters from Republicans in high places, some of the National Committee, and many congratulations of Senators on my return. For this service I was unanimously chosen by both delegations to represent the State on the National Committee.

The reception at the President's began by Mr. Halford's asking Gov. Cameron if five minutes would be time enough for him. It is unnecessary to state the reply. Suffice it to say that Gen. Mahone had been there two months and more, had presented his side privately to the President and the Cabinet (except Mr. Blaine, of whom the General has a mortal fear) by the hour to each. He had become so familiar with them in this time, that in writing, of which he did much that I read on the files, he dropped official titles and formalities, and adopted the address, "MY DEAR MR. SECY. OR ATTY. OR P. M. GENERAL."

The discerning ones thought the President very impatient and altogether too brief and nervous to be candid. He did not give the candidate a straight look into his eyes while there. This, however, is no exception to his manner of speaking or conversing, but is a habit of his life.

At this meeting Col. Brady's attitude was unchanged. He, with all the rest favored calling at once the State Committee together by ten, Groner, to consider the time and place for holding a State convention should they resolve to call one.

I went again to Gen. Mahone. We had had two days together, and several old hours. He gave me his ultimatum. He named several of the most prominent of the Groner Committee with whom he never would again have relations political or social. I then gave up in despair, told him of Col. B's position and taking all in all, compromise seemed impossible, to which he readily assented.

It will be seen hereafter how easy it is to get Col. Brady to go, and hence I lay the responsibility for failure of compromise entirely upon Gen. Mahone. He received a respectful letter, afterward published, from Gen. Groner and his committee, to which he made no reply, though only two squares separated them, and two days were given to waiting. He had always recognized them as his peers in the party and socially. Gentlemen may pass upon such conduct as this without comment from me. From a party standpoint it was inexcusable. He betrayed his real attitude toward all compromise, albeit he was training the people by loud protestations to believe that he was anxious for party unity, and that success this fall could not be achieved without it.

Such conduct cannot fail to fix the responsibility of failure on General Mahone.

same information. About this time the so-called National Committee appeared upon the scene to settle Virginia Republican difficulties. Never was a greater FRAUD, FALSHOOD AND FORGERY imposed upon a confiding people than this QUAY-MAHONE-BRADY-COMPRO-MISE.

It lacked the first essential to a compromise, there being but one party to it. It was agreed upon two weeks before General Groner's last appearance, to my certain knowledge, and when I heard that Gen. G. would appear again, I did not go to see him, because I knew he would not appear if I gave him what information I had, and the source from which I obtained it, and I wanted him to make one more effort, however vain the hope. Gen. Groner did so, and quit the city the same afternoon, I have reason to believe, in disgust.

Then came the CUT AND DRIED PLAN from Gen. Mahone's table.

It was the IDENTICAL ONE MAN PLAN of organization without dotting an I or crossing a T. Instead of publishing the plan, they sent forth the announcement that the people would call their own conventions and elect their own county chairmen.

THIS WAS UTTERLY FALSE. It was left in the power of Gen. Mahone to remove and appoint County Chairmen at his will, a power which he has since wielded whenever necessary to have a Mahone man chairman to pack the Norfolk convention with his satellites, adding this insult to the others under which we have been smarting since he surreptitiously put this yoke upon us, all county calls to be counterpoised.

"APPROVED, WM. MAHONE, CHAIRMAN."

It must now be noticed that this paper got out in the evening. Col. Brady was no party to it. Gen. Mahone refused to have anything whatever to do with him. Hence only one side was consulted. But Col. B. never gets left if he can help it. He forgot his furious attitude at the Ebbett, and straightaway went to the office of the Press, edited by the very appropriately nomenclatured Fox, where the two proceeded to add their words "I CONCUR IN THE ABOVE."

J. D. BRADY, Mem. Nat. Rep. Com."

The compromising Col. was at no time asked by the Nat. Com. to concur. General Mahone declined to allow him to concur, and when he heard how Col. B. had beaten him out of the Collectorship, even though it was at the price of apostasy to his friends, the General danced the "Mobile Back" to such music as he best renders under similar circumstances.

War was declared, but peace was soon restored by the awful Quay-sylvanian proclamation,

"DAMN IT, MAHONE!"

if he is objectionable to you at your home, of course he will be confirmed. It must now be observed that Gen. Mahone's paper is only signed by M. S. Quay, Chairman Nat. Com. Col. Brady's is signed by the subcommittee. As these other gentlemen did not sign Mahone's paper I was at a loss to know why they signed Brady's. I followed the case up early in the morning and ascertained that some of the names of the Nat. Com. to that paper were unauthorized. I was too late to see all, but if only one name was put there without authority, it justifies the opinion I then formed that none of them signed it. Col. Brady was at no time a party to the Mahone compromise. He simply compromised himself, and with himself. I know from Gen. Mahone that Col. B. was one of the men he would not treat with.

On the day before these papers saw sunlight I gave Mr. Snowden, of the Alexandria Gazette, information of what was to be the outcome at Chamberlain's, and in the afternoon I wrote a brief sketch of it for him, which was published the same evening. I sent a copy to Mr. Reynard of the Press for information would head of Col. B. before committing his rash act. It was promptly returned with regret, saying it would be published next morning if desired. The young man who took the paper knew somewhat of the force, and laughingly announced that Col. B. and Mr. Fox were together and quite busy. In six hours from that time Col. B. and Mr. Fox's paper was on the streets and newstands.

The new quite loyal Mr. Fox who writes of "kickers" with such campaign loggery will be remembered as the same pleasant faced old gentleman, who played a good second to the Philippi of the Col. at the Ebbett.

The Quay proclamation did quick work, for the ground was in good order. Washington was full of Virginians seeking P. O.'s, and other places. This was their opportunity. They rushed with open arms to embrace the patriotic leader who had yielded for the good of the party. They added their voices to Mahone's in mistating the whole matter, until Republicans were nearly all deceived.

Poor Simpletons. I vainly endeavored to undeceive many of them. Now they see it for themselves. Under the same old plan Mahone organized his convention for his own nomination by acclamation. That plan gives him practical control of every little meeting held. He appoints and removes county chairmen at his will. This county

chairman appoints none but Mahone men as preceptors. His power is the same in the cities. Gov. Cameron told me it was much more difficult for him to get to a Republican primary, than for voters to get to the ballot box. Mahone is also practically his own committee on credentials.

No good man would have power bestowed upon him. No fair and unselfish man would exercise it. What do Republicans think of this fraud, farce, falsehood and forgery? What can they think of this hydra headed boss? Did Mr. Quay dare to go into New York to settle the party broils there? Oh no! But he and Mahone, being tarred with the same stick as obnoxious bosses, had no difficulty in "getting themselves together."

And this is the way it was done; Mahone stalked in Petersburg; Quay lost no time after the inauguration in rushing down to get his "Unit Rule" confere in good humor. Mahone's methods might be very much needed in Virginia in 1892. They had stood together till the last at Chicago. Quay had been made Chairman in deference to Senator Sherman's friends, and Mahone had been in the broken ring from the beginning. Quay carried him to Washington, introduced him, and he established his Department at Chamberlain's forthwith. He was made P. M. Gen. for Virginia with Capt. Asa Rogers, 1st Asst. He surrounded himself with a preambulating street staff, and began business by liberally advertising that all applications for P. O.'s should be forwarded to the Virginia Department.

In a few weeks he had hundreds of them. It was some time before I caught on to the game. My eyes were opened in this wise: A young man whose name need not be given, filed his application for a P. O. He applied me and other friends of it. He had removed from Shenandoah when a boy. Inquiry by me at the P. O. Department, developed that his application had not been filed. The young man was so notified, and he wrote a letter to Capt. Geo. J. Grandstaff to present his papers. This was insufficient. The 1st Asst. P. M. Gen. said he would present them as soon as the "old man" approved them. A notice to this effect brought the young man to Washington. The 1st Asst. had the temerity to tell him he could not have the papers as they had not been "approved," but would be and forwarded. He explained that applications from Virginia were held up by Gen. Mahone at the request of Mr. Clarkson. This deprived every Virginian of an insight into Virginia papers except Gen. Mahone. I, therefore, went directly to Col. Clarkson and stated the case. He gave it a very positive negative. Such was the situation and condition of Virginia applications when I left Washington.

On such as were being slowly forwarded I found the general endorsement.

"EXAMINED AND APPROVED, MAHONE."

Such was the way in which matters relating to Virginia were being treated when Gen. Mahone left to "get himself together" to become a Republican martyr, and assert still larger claims, it possible, and with more boldness, to the administration. I have many ridiculous stories concerning these recommendations. The "OLD MAN" WAS IN HOT WATER most of the time. To write of these would extend this paper into a book. I tend to be able to give recitals of a few on the hustings. One, however, must go. The Gen. recommended Mr. R. Miller in the way in more than half the districts on a poll. The Richmond Whig was Mahone's property. He could, and did use it, antecedent to the convention, in all sorts of attacks upon Blaine. He also put forth his private circular, in which he assailed Blaine and Whitehead in a style that was gross to say the least. Blaine and Mahone were nominated. The former and Mahone did not speak, as the word goes. Logan gave his candid opinion (as was his wont) of Gen. Mahone through the press. It is being read in the State now. It was deemed better to elect another than the Gen. on the Congressional Campaign Committee. The delegation, in the absence of Gen. Mahone Capt. Wise and myself, selected me, and reported my name to the caucus which they were attending. I did not know there was such a committee. The next morning I sent to the Capital for my surprise. I got more than one. Gen. Mahone was scornfully indignant. In five minutes I sent in my declaration, and Gen. Mahone was shown. But for Gen. Mahone's provident use of much of that campaign fund through the Whig, Blaine and Logan would unquestionably have recovered Virginia's electoral vote. The note the Whig tried to repair its wrongs the greater it made them. Its feeble endeavors at explanation and sickly apology to get back was laughed and scorned at by turns. The Democratic orator read the Whig's editorial and Mahone's private circular for his speech.

I oppose Mahone because of his unfaithfulness to Virginia on the debt question, by proclaiming himself in favor of reopening it, vowing himself by the high sounding title of "Debt Payer." We know he was, such until the breath was knocked out of his Mozart Hall essay. I am opposed to him for implicitly censuring everybody for not settling according to the terms of the British Bond Holders Commission, when the official reporters show that this would require \$467,741.29 additional revenue, or an increase in the rate of taxation above that from which I had the honor to manage the measure reducing it to 40 cents. I know this far back; so it is no new reason.

His platform and carefully read speech at Abingdon settles his position now beyond doubt. I oppose him because in high places he has proven his utter incapacity, and because, after elevation, selfishness and malice are his predominant qualities. I oppose him because of his insults to Republicans in convention and out in 1885, and again in 1889, when I announced I would support the nominee but be a slave under his infamous "plan" no longer. He cast Wise many votes. What Republican has forgotten Mahone and Lamb in those conventions, and

THAT TRAITOR OF AN HOUR, Crag? Verily, 'tis true, and pity 'tis, 'tis true! High and honorable Henry Bowen seems to have pecked the grossest affront ever offered in such a place as a political convention.

I oppose Mahone because of what I esteem scarcely less than outrages on his part against many worthy citizens of Virginia during his six years' service. I oppose him for his extreme radicalism, which excels all, and which can only be told. It is too long. Details of all these reasons will promptly follow. Some innocent Republicans will be astonished.

I oppose Mahone because I love liberty and hate tyranny. I oppose him for turning the Republican party over to the cruelties of Quay, and for abusing the power thus obtained by holding hundreds of appointments in Virginia to coerce the support of all contestants. This I regard as hideous, for it is a betrayal and deception.

I oppose Mahone because of that ingratitude, so appropriately characterized as the basest and meanest of crimes. I oppose Mahone because he has defeated the Republicans in one legislative election at least, two congressional elections and two presidential elections by withdrawing issues and subverting his own exactions personality. He deserves Republican excommunication for throwing away his Congressional District, and with it the State, just fall to gratify personal revenge.

I oppose Mahone because he will carry his selfishness, revenge, lack of political virtue, and other characteristics I have ascribed to him into the Executive Mansion. I oppose Mahone because by his arrogance and ill manners he has carried some of the ablest and most capable Republicans in every respect, to rid himself of intelligent surroundings, and pose as the leader of a great southern Republican movement. To this end he proposes to sacrifice the Republican party once more. Last for this paper, but not least, I oppose Gen. Mahone, because he is a convert to the doctrine of centralization and the control of elections by the Federal Government. I cannot consent that a man shall represent me who would put the most radical construction on the 14th amendment to the constitution of the United States. As an ex-Confederate he has his exiles mailed at every X Roads with these Irish head lines:

"THE HERO OF THE CRATER." He brings into the campaign an honorable record as a soldier, backed by the narrative of Maj. Lacey and the imaginative genius of James Barron Hope. Yet he would ask his ex-Confederate comrades to endorse him, with his ex-servants, for Governor.

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THAT TRAITOR OF AN HOUR, Crag? Verily, 'tis true, and pity 'tis, 'tis true! High and honorable Henry Bowen seems to have pecked the grossest affront ever offered in such a place as a political convention. I oppose Mahone because of what I esteem scarcely less than outrages on his part against many worthy citizens of Virginia during his six years' service. I oppose him for his extreme radicalism, which excels all, and which can only be told. It is too long. Details of all these reasons will promptly follow. Some innocent Republicans will be astonished.

I oppose Mahone because I love liberty and hate tyranny. I oppose him for turning the Republican party over to the cruelties of Quay, and for abusing the power thus obtained by holding hundreds of appointments in Virginia to coerce the support of all contestants. This I regard as hideous, for it is a betrayal and deception.

I oppose Mahone because of that ingratitude, so appropriately characterized as the basest and meanest of crimes. I oppose Mahone because he has defeated the Republicans in one legislative election at least, two congressional elections and two presidential elections by withdrawing issues and subverting his own exactions personality. He deserves Republican excommunication for throwing away his Congressional District, and with it the State, just fall to gratify personal revenge.

I oppose Mahone because he will carry his selfishness, revenge, lack of political virtue, and other characteristics I have ascribed to him into the Executive Mansion. I oppose Mahone because by his arrogance and ill manners he has carried some of the ablest and most capable Republicans in every respect, to rid himself of intelligent surroundings, and pose as the leader of a great southern Republican movement. To this end he proposes to sacrifice the Republican party once more. Last for this paper, but not least, I oppose Gen. Mahone, because he is a convert to the doctrine of centralization and the control of elections by the Federal Government. I cannot consent that a man shall represent me who would put the most radical construction on the 14th amendment to the constitution of the United States. As an ex-Confederate he has his exiles mailed at every X Roads with these Irish head lines:

"THE HERO OF THE CRATER." He brings into the campaign an honorable record as a soldier, backed by the narrative of Maj. Lacey and the imaginative genius of James Barron Hope. Yet he would ask his ex-Confederate comrades to endorse him, with his ex-servants, for Governor.

Col. H. C. Parsons has come out for first time in State politics the same way, and for the same reason. He says we ought to undo the whole thing and settle with the British commission. He had just been on a high mountain in London. Recall his letter lately published. Cannot our friends find time to look carefully into these things?

The "School and Tariff Advocate" puts forth the flaming election lines that usual follow the election returns. It says, that in 1879, Shenandoah had 27 schools as against 101 N. Y. In 1879, Shenandoah had 27 schools, and Rutledgeberg, without advice from any source, drew the 90 per cent. bill which increased the number. Let other counties examine this statement and oppose it. We could not have thought General Mahone's own campaign organ capable of making this statement.

We are not opposing Republican principles, and we will not. We are opposing Gen. Mahone his new creed, his negative platform and most remarkable change on the debt question. Gen. Mahone read his speech at Abingdon, and published it in Petersburg. If it is sincere Gen. Mahone ought not to be voted for by any original reader. If sincere, he is unfit to be governor.

A Surprise to Mahone. RICHMOND, VA., Oct. 8.—What are known as the Jackson and election cases came up before a grand jury in the United States District Court today, and, much to the surprise of the Mahone Republicans, they adjourned over until December 9. These are cases in which Messrs. A. B. Waigton, H. M. Smith, Preston Belvin and other prominent Democratic citizens of Richmond, who worked at the polls in Jackson ward on the day of the last presidential election, were charged with obstructing negroes in voting. Their cases were heard before a United States commissioner some time after the election and sent on to the grand jury of Judge Hughes's Court. In continuing these cases today Judge Hughes had he continued them until the December term of the court, because he did not think they should be heard during a political campaign such as is now in progress in Virginia. The Judge, although a consistent Republican, is not a Mahonite.

Colored Men! The most consoling thing the Democrats ever did was fastening their people through a close and massive organization to stay away from allopstitution speaking. Now Gen. Mahone is still more consoling for the same thing, for it must be conceded that thousands of colored Republicans cannot get information by reading. Think of colored men in Woodstock being visited and persuaded not to hear Riddleberger speak! How contemptible! How cowardly! Colored men! Gen. Mahone wants \$467,000 more revenue. The farmers are not going to vote any more taxation. Death itself is not more certain.

Look out for the schools! They are necessarily the principle sufferers by any encroachment on the revenue. This is among the reasons you are asked not to hear. You can't be hurt by hearing.

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